

*G*ANDHI is more a mystic than a politician, more a revolutionary than a mystic, more a legend than a revolutionary. We cannot imagine him turning into a masterful healing influence without his cult—Satyagraha. His genius is bred and enlarged on this concept. Satyagraha is grounded on truth-force, and the truth is touched with love. Its technique is simple but its simplicity induces a mood and contains a surprise. It is a process of moral becoming. It is the application in a supreme crisis of the moral energy against the forces that threaten the common human impulse.

In these ever-alluring pages Hon'ble Sri Diwakar proves that Satyagraha is aspiring life kindled and fed by moral action. He has brought to the interpretation of this absolute concept his readings, his life, his emotional reactions and his practical temper. He destroys a precious illusion that the world can be bound together by appetites, grab and the atomic bomb. His acute and learned book does not show a hammered high road but a new path lit by a cosmic symbol.

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Satyâgraha

THE PATHWAY
TO PEACE



"IN GANDHI'S FOOT-STEPS" SERIES No. 3

Satyāgraha

THE PATHWAY
TO PEACE



R. R. DIWAKAR

FOREWORD BY
HIS EXCELLENCY SRI M. S. ANEY

P U S T A K B H A N D A R
P A T N A 4

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foreword

THE book "Satyagraha—The Pathway to Peace" by R. R. Diwakar, should have been introduced to the readers by a Kaka Kalelkar, a Mashruwala or a Vinoba Bhave.

It deals with a path which not only ordinary men but even angels will fear to tread. But the publishers have been so insisting on me that I find myself almost compelled "to rush".

Many people had practised Satyagraha more than once under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. But among the thousands of Satyagrahis there are only a few who understand what Satyagraha really means. And even among those fortunate few who know, those that can lucidly explain the theory and practice of it are very rare. On reading this brilliant brochure, I felt that R. R. Diwakar, the talented author of it was one of those rare persons. A Sanskrit subhashit says:

शतेषु जायते शूरः । सहस्रेषु च पंडितः । वक्ता दशसहस्रेषु

'One in hundred may be born a warrior, one in thousand a Pundit, i.e. one who knows the science; only one in ten thousand may be a Vakta, i.e. an effective exponent of it.

In the case of words as in the case of men,

familiarity breeds contempt. Many terms of which the precise connotation is not known are freely and frequently used by writers and speakers. The sonorous sound rather than the sense of such words carries them away. In my opinion, Satyagraha is one of such terms. Promiscuous use of words is a dangerous tendency which must be combated and discouraged. Otherwise, the use of the word slowly drives the person to the use of the delicate weapon without knowing the proper limitations for its effective and beneficial use. There have been recently a number of cases in which certain individuals had resorted to Satyagraha very often in the form of hunger strike, or starvation to death. Many felt that there was need of imparting a proper and correct understanding to the people about the nature of Satyagraha, the purpose for which its use will be legitimate and the conditions under which it can be justifiable. The elaborate discussion of the nature and conditions of Satyagraha and the qualifications of the Satyagrahis in the pamphlet will be of great help to the people in appreciating and assessing at its proper value the Satyagrahic demonstration by anybody.

The author emphatically states "since this is a moral force it cannot be used for immoral or unjust purposes". He also lays down the following *practical rule* for guidance.

“It is clear that wherever there is evil, injustice, exploitation—social, economic or political, Satyagraha can be resorted to. It must however be remembered that it is the last weapon and must be used only in the last resort when all other weapons of peace have been tried and have failed. Such failures patiently endured are in fact a good preparation for the last step.”

I will take the liberty to add that it is not only good but a necessary and indispensable preparation for the last act.

The one great redeeming feature of the advocacy of Satyagraha by Diwakar is his frankness in admitting that we have not sufficient data to maintain that international tensions can be tackled by methods similar to those of Satyagraha.

In an illuminating passage he has distinguished between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance. While the former is based on love, the latter on hatred and harassment of the opponent. It cannot therefore become a philosophy of life.

The reader is given a very clear idea of the qualifications of a Satyagrahi.

“Love does not burn others, it burns itself”, says Mahatma Gandhi. In this one short sentence is epitomised the whole philosophy of Satyagraha as propounded by Mahatma Gandhi. “He must be clean in life, be pure of heart and shall be non-violent in thought, word and deed. He shall

seek and follow truth under all circumstances. He shall have no hatred, and harbour no anger. He shall joyfully suffer unto death if needed." He who can come up to this high standard of spiritualism can be qualified to be a Satyagrahi. Satyagraha is not a fashion to imitate. It is rather a spiritual passion of the highest order to immolate oneself in the fire of sacrifice in defence of a righteous cause or for the redress of a colossal wrong against humanity. Satyagraha is the outward expression of both the agonies which a righteous soul feels at the great wrong and its non-violent yearning to redress it.

A person who has reached the state of intellectual, moral and spiritual perfection may certainly hope to succeed by resorting to Satyagraha. But for ordinary men the immediate need is to submit themselves to a life of discipline, self-restraint and service to his neighbours.

I am sure that the discussion by the author of this Satyagrahic substitute for violent resistance will prove very thought-provoking. That in itself will be a great achievement.

In his last work on Upanishads, the author has brought to us the message of the Vedic Rishis. In this work he has expounded the message of the Rishi whom the readers saw and under whose lead he had the privilege to work like most of them.

I earnestly hope that this message, like those of the old Rishis, may show the right path to the erring man and save humanity from the catastrophe of the degradation and disaster which follows inevitably violent and fratricidal wars.

M. S. ANEY
Governor of Bihar

Gandhi is more a mystic than a politician, more a revolutionary than a mystic, more a legend than a revolutionary. We cannot imagine him turning into a masterful healing influence without his cult-Satyagraha. His genius is bred and enlarged on this concept. Satyagraha is grounded on truth-force, and the truth is touched with love. Its technique is simple, but its simplicity induces a mood and contains a surprise. It is a process of moral becoming. It is the application in a supreme crisis of the moral energy against the forces that threaten the common human impulse.

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It is my rare privilege to offer this book of Hon'ble Diwakar, whose ministerial work has not cramped his instinctive devotion to letters. The Foreword of His Excellency Sri M. S. Aney, who symbolises our traditions and dreams, adds greatly to the total effect of this invaluable study. I offer them my heartfelt gratitude and thanks. I am indebted to Sri M. N. Dutt, the Manager, Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., to Sri Jamini Roy and to Sri Asu Bandopadhyaya for making this book an artistic achievement.

THE PUBLISHER



THE world is trembling with fear at the prospect of war and more wars. The Atom Bomb and its alternates which seem to be deadlier are in the offing. These are weapons which threaten not only the lives of millions of innocents but they are a threat to the very existence of civilizations and their achievements. Aldous Huxley's creative imagination has drawn a lurid picture of the next post-world-war conditions in his recent book *Ape and Essence*. There he has depicted something worse than the wiping out of a civilization, namely its survival in a most perverse form, where Belial reigns supreme and God is at a discount.

It is obviously not possible to go here into the causes of wars and conflicts and tensions among human beings. They are too deep-rooted in human nature itself, that is in the various emotional urges of man, some of which are primary. It may not be possible to root them out entirely for ages to come. Probably to destroy them is to destroy the very urge of life, for, life consists of some irrepressible urges and their expression in the environment in which life is placed. But

certainly the evolution of man must lie along the line of curbing those crude urges and giving them channels of expression which are healthier and are other than war or destruction. In fact, it is the very purpose of all civilization and culture to control the elemental urges of man and give them scope and shape and form which would, so to say, domesticate them and make them serve humanity rather than spread devastation. The meaning of all education and of all social influence is to see that the individual as well as the group are shaped into useful units in the great co-operative effort to build up a peaceful, progressive, vigorous society of human beings. One may liken the urges of life to the energy that rushes down a mountain-side in the shape of a torrent. It would sweep everything before it if left alone. But it is the wise and skilful handling of an engineer that would turn it into a useful channel that would give both power and water to the surrounding villages.

There was a time when it was thought that these urges, these human hungers could be suppressed and that that was the best way to deal with them. The theory of education itself was once partially based on suppression. Religion also thought that suppression of passions and of the strong human urges was the way to sainthood. But a deeper study of psychology and the urges in man have

led scientists and philosophers to the conclusion that suppression warps and twists and perverts the urges but does not eliminate them. It is control and sublimation alone that converts the tyrant of an urge into a submissive force in the cause of human progress. Most of the educationists have eschewed the rod in trying to suppress the so-called evil tendencies in children and believe now in the study and proper guidance of those tendencies into more fruitful channels. Even criminology is taking note of these newly discovered facts about the human mind and its activities. Ages ago the Geeta pointed out that suppression (*Nigraha*) was of no avail and that one should follow one's own inner law of being subject to the science of *Yoga*, communion with the higher powers, based on self-control and self-regulation (*Yama* and *Niyama*).

Of all the primary urges in man, that for power seems uppermost. The will to dominate lies at the root of most of the conflicts. Conflicts between religions and sects were also traceable to the will to power in the field of religion. Political conflicts are obviously based on the desire for power, the urge to dominate, to rule over others. The idea that one religion is superior to the other, one ideology is better than the other, is oftentimes a rationalisation to justify one's aggression against the other. Today normally we have ceased to speak of superiority and inferiority of

religion, but have learnt to swear by ideologies. Our fanaticism is not the less on account of that. If religious fanatics of old promised *post-mortem* heaven to believers and hell to the heretics and thus tried to possess the minds of men, today fanatics of economic systems do the same, holding out heaven on earth in this life as the prize for following a particular economic theory and hell to those that differ. In both cases, the fanaticism is the same and of equal intensity. Penalty for heresy is as severe.

But this struggle for power over men's minds through fear, coercion, temptation or threat of destruction, is similar to the struggle of the old teacher to teach the child in the old way. It may yield doubtful results for a time but it is not real education. More scientific and peaceful ways of converting men's minds must now be taken up. The present ways smack of barbarity somewhat thinly clothed in drawing-room manners. They show no real culture of the heart. Satyagraha, which is the way of the strong and the fearless in mind, may, in course of time, be able to stem the tide of the old methods and make them yield their place to new and more civilized ones.

It is in the context of the working of the present-day destructive forces that seem to be heading towards a major disaster, that we have to study Gandhiji and his teachings. He eschewed violence

on principle in any shape and form, to person or to property, in all walks of life. He firmly believed that violence could not conquer violence, that one wrong could not undo another and that war created new problems and often worse ones. He relentlessly sought to realise truth through non-violence all his life. He declared that all life is one, human nature is essentially good and that evil could be effectively conquered only by good. He never faltered from this faith and what was more, he lived this faith every moment of his life and in every sense of it. Like many of the saints that have gone by, he did not look upon the life beyond as his only concern but was out to establish here and now the Kingdom of God, the rule of truth and non-violence, of justice and fairplay, a human society devoid of exploitation. He did not restrict the operation of the principle of non-violence to individual life only, nor did he confine it to the religious field alone. He sought to apply it to all kinds of groups of people and to all nations. He attempted to extend the operation of this law of love to economic, social and political problems. In the face of the many triumphs he achieved in different fields and the multitudinous masses he moved to action, who can say that his was merely an individual fad or an empty dream? During the course of the many 'experiments with truth' that he conducted for fifty years, he developed a

technique of non-violent action which today has attracted the attention of the world. He often called his method, 'the science and art of Satyagraha'—the power of truth or the insistence on truth, the application of soul-force as distinct from physical force. If there is any single word or expression which comprehends the whole and the essential teaching of Gandhiji, it is 'Satyagraha'. Let us see what this Satyagraha is and how far and in what manner this Gandhian way has the potentiality of contributing to methods of peace in the world. Before examining the claim of Satyagraha however, we have to remember that long as was his life and varied his opportunities, Gandhiji did not come across all conceivable circumstances under which Satyagraha could be tried. But it must be said that by taking the bold steps that he did with unflinching faith in Satyagraha, he has done enough to inspire some confidence in this principle, and has opened the door for further experiments along the same line by those that are akin to him in spirit.

Violence in Nature

As one observes Nature working on the plane of life, one is struck by the violence and destruction that is there in the whole process of the evolution of life on this planet and in the course

of the survival of the species. 'Nature red in tooth and claw,' does not seem to be too exaggerated a description of that process. The common expression 'law of the jungle' clearly embodies the general view that Nature proceeds along the line of violence or blind force, irrespective of the justice of the case. At any rate, in the lower strata of life, struggle for existence, survival of the fittest only mean the use of violence and all possible means involving violence for the purpose of self-preservation, self-propagation, self-expression and self-expansion. As we climb up, however, in the ladder of life, we find mutual aid, co-operation and other peaceful means used for the same purposes for which violence was used in the earlier stages. As we still go up in the scale of life and reach the human being, we observe the dawn of rationality and along with it a more extensive use of the principle of 'live and let live'. It may be said with some truth that peaceful means seems to gain more in popularity and in use, as rationality advances in the history of *homo sapiens*. It may be that after some decades or centuries, when violence to property and person becomes almost obsolete as a method of solving human conflicts and adjusting mutual interests, the writers of those future days would laugh at the irrationality as well as the barbarity of our present methods in the matter of solving such problems. If it

were true and if one were convinced that Nature had no other law but that of violence, of destruction, for the evolution of life, then it would be idle to think in terms of any other way of solving conflicts. If, on the other hand, in the course of evolution itself, life has been able to find more humane and economical ways of solving conflicts and of advancing its interests, and if these economical ways have been developing along the line of rationality and non-violence, then it is certainly worth while studying the gospel of Satyagraha as preached and practised by Gandhiji.

It may be interesting to study the evolution of human society from this point of view. We have enough of authentic human history at hand to study this aspect of the use of violence and non-violence, both in the matter of the development of a single human individual in society, a single organised group, and also in the matter of conflicts between individuals of the same society as well as between two organised groups of human beings, be they tribes, races or nations. I am here obviously thinking more in terms of progressive prevention and elimination of violence and destruction from human affairs, than in terms of the promotion of non-violence and love for more constructive purposes. That course is the next step and can be easily visualised when the earlier step has in fact been taken and has progressed far enough.

We have before us today in different parts of the world, human societies which are at different stages of evolution. We have cannibalistic tribes at the one end which believe in a total philosophy of 'a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye', and at the other, highly evolved civilized nations which are trying to insist on the resolution of all conflicts not by violence but only by peaceful means, by negotiation, by arbitration or by mediation. It is really unfortunate that this has not been achieved, but the direction is quite clear and is evident from the numerous attempts that are being made to abolish war. These attempts may not have been based on principles of love and non-violence. But it is clear that they are based on practical considerations, on rational considerations and that is a step in advance, there is no doubt about it.

In most primitive societies, conflicts between individuals were resolved by individual action and counter-action. The next very important step in social evolution was taken when the group took upon itself the responsibility of judging between individuals and of resolving conflicts by collective action against the wrong-doer. Ultimately both in civil and criminal matters, in matters involving person as well as property, the group has not only taken the responsibility of resolving conflicts and of giving justice, but also of punishing individuals if they take the law into their own hands, except

in exceptional circumstances such as self-defence. As regards justice between nations, though the general opinion is that in this field too the reign of accepted international law should prevail and that conflicts should be resolved by peaceful means, the 'how' of it has not yet been fully evolved for want of effective sanctions. But there is a general belief that sooner rather than later it would be possible to evolve some kind of one-world-government in which nations will be in the same position as individuals are today under an ordered government. No individual citizen, for instance, under a well-organised government is today free to take the law into his own hands as regards alleged wrongs done to him by other citizens. The same applies to a group of citizens or to any corporation, either in respect of property or of person. The remedy is reference to the police or to a court of law, which means a reference to a third party which has a sanction behind it and acts on behalf and in the name of the Government. When the concept of one government for all the countries in the world materialises, every country in respect of these matters would be in the same position under that government as every one of the citizens of any respective state is today.

I do know that even such a world-government is not free from an element of force and violence. Because, even there the final sanction would be

physical force—even though it may be the minimum, it may not be open to individual nations, and it may not be used except after all other peaceful remedies have been exhausted. But all the same, it is there as the final sanction. Theoretically, it is possible to imagine a world of perfect peace and a world where only moral sanctions, as distinct from physical sanctions, prevail. The Kingdom of God as imagined by us may be established on earth in some distant millenium to come. But that evidently is only a pious wish or a dream today. What can be visualised however as a practical reality within measurable time, is what I have stated above, a world-government, which rests ultimately on force as the final sanction but the force is used only to a minimum extent and that only in the cause of justice and in the due process of universally accepted international law.

Birth of Satyagraha

Let us now examine the Gandhian concept of Satyagraha and its place in giving a fillip to ways of peace in human affairs. But before doing so, it is necessary to know something of the background in which Satyagraha took birth.

Three great urges dominated Gandhiji's life. Whatever he thought or contemplated, whatever

he said or wrote, whatever he did or achieved, bear ample testimony to the fact that he yearned to build up human life, to improve it, to reform it, to transfigure it, to make it a fitter instrument for transcending itself and for attaining the higher reaches in the spiral of evolution. The religious fervour with which every saint and spiritual teacher is invariably imbued was his from the very beginning of his career. 'From good to better daily self-surpassed' in the cause of truth and non-violence, might well have been his motto. It was this urge that explains his total constructive effort in every field of human life. In fact, he was happiest when in the midst of constructive activities. He felt a sense of fulfilment more than ever when he was absorbed in actually doing something which built up and bettered human life. Nursing, for instance, had a strange fascination for him. He has clearly said in his booklet *The Constructive Programme* that civil disobedience for Swaraj would be unnecessary if only the constructive programme were carried out fully in all its significance.

All constructive work means overcoming some resistance in the form of orthodoxy, superstition, inertia, vested interests and so on. There are always anti-evolutionary forces which impede the advance of evolution. 'Evil' may be the briefest description of this anti-evolutionary force. We

encounter it also in the form of injustice, irreligion, immorality and all other forces of destruction. Gandhiji's whole soul rose against evil in any form. To resist all evil was, therefore, his second urge. He would prefer death to submission to any evil. Fleeing from evil, trying to escape from it in a spirit of defeatism, would never appeal to him. Though himself a confirmed votary of non-violence, in cases where he saw that the person or persons concerned were not bold and fearless enough to follow the path of non-violence, he would allow even violent resistance to evil rather than a cowardly retreat from or submission to evil. It was this urge that made him a life-long fighter in the cause of whatever was deemed 'good' by him. He was a warrior, a crusader, a Kshatriya all his life and neither illness, nor age, nor pre-occupations came in the way of responding to a call for fight against 'evil' in any shape or form.

The third most dominant urge in him was for love for peace. Every bit of him was for peace, for non-violence. If he hated anything in this world it was hatred itself, as that he considered to be the root of all violence in human affairs. But he always hated the evil, never the evil-doer. For the latter, there ever was infinite love and abundant sympathy in Gandhiji's heart. Where others would be thinking of the necessity to hate or to kill or to destroy, he would himself take the

path of suffering, rather than impose it upon others. Not only non-violence but non-injury and that too in thought, word and deed became his guiding sentiment throughout life. His boundless love for beings would not allow him to think in terms of causing any the least conscious injury to any living being. Injury to property, he knew, would sooner or later involve injury to person. That was his experience. Therefore he eschewed injury both to property and to person. He explained his doctrine of non-injury in another way also. He said, man had no right to destroy what he could not create, and to injure what he could not make whole. Better leave both of them to God, he would say, as He alone can do both. The evolution of the whole technique of non-violent action is based on this dominant urge of his, love for all beings.

Though Gandhiji has not written anything elaborately about his philosophy as such, he has often allowed us to peep into the depths of it. Truth is God, he declared, and a relentless search after Truth through non-violence was the mission of his life. It was in the course of fulfilling this mission that he gave shape to what we briefly call 'Satyagraha'. He has chosen to call his autobiography *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, and his whole life is one long story of Satyagraha, the unique way of life that he evolved.

I have not space enough here for the details of his personal life nor for the ways he dealt with personal problems, though they are very original and illuminating. What I cannot omit here, however, is the psychological background in which this new technique was born. But I do not want anybody to believe that the same background is necessary for one to be a votary of the peaceful path that he chalked out. It is quite conceivable that even without the postulates that Gandhiji laid down for himself, a rational thinker too would come to the conclusion that the method he evolved was the most humane, practical, useful and peaceful and that it had the potentiality to pave the way for peace in the world. In fact, I think that it does not always require a mystic to arrive at conclusions which he jumps at, in his own way. The rationalist also does work his way to the same conclusions, and whatever the way of arriving at truth, all can ultimately adopt the same 'ethique' and code of conduct which must be based on the experienced and tested truth of being and becoming.

Moral Force vs. Physical Force

Gandhiji had a mystic realisation of the immanent presence of God or Reality. It was that which made him declare that all life is one. When such is the belief, man can look upon every sentient

creature, every human being only with one emotion, that of love. Love is the feeling of identity. For one who has realised the truth of unitive life, to approach any human being with anything less than love would be a sin, an immoral act. But to begin with, to ask people to love all is too tall an order, since, on the vital plane, there is the animal urge to live, to live at all costs, to exploit, to injure or even to kill, if necessary, for the purpose of self-preservation or self-expansion. Therefore, one has to begin by a seemingly negative action, that of abstinence from injury to life, of non-injury, non-violence in deed first, and then in word and finally in thought and emotional reaction. Here is the beginning of the soul-force or the moral force coming into play as against brute-force or physical force. Since this is a moral force, it cannot be used for immoral or unjust purposes. For instance, it cannot be used for justifying any kind of exploitation or usury or retaining unconscionable gains or to prop up an empire. Evidently that would be Duragraha—insistence on wrong rather than Satyagraha. Gandhiji had immense faith in the inherent goodness of human nature and he believed that it would never fail to respond to non-violence. He therefore looked upon the evil that a man did as separate and different from the man himself who did it. The evil had to be fought and extermi-

nated in the interest of the man himself ; the man had to be befriended and helped to fight the evil in him. While he would hate the evil that a man does, he would hug the evil-doer to his heart as his closest friend. Since he experienced a sense of identity with all living beings, he not only abstained from injury to them, but when in conflict with them, he exposed himself to suffering and invited it in the course of his effort to make the opponent convinced of the truth of his own contention. He had faith in the infinite power of suffering to convert the opponent.

Though Gandhiji's gospel of non-violence and insistence on peaceful methods was grounded in his unalterable faith in the unity of life and the power of love, he often gave a rationalistic and convincing explanation of his faith.

He said, no philosophy or ethics can be built on the basis of violence or destruction. Those who live by the sword perish by the sword. Violence always breeds further violence and can never conquer violence. Hatred being the root of all violence, it must be eschewed at all costs if we really wish to banish violence from human affairs. But hatred itself is but a form of fear. Fear of harm at the hands of others engenders hatred to the extent of impelling those who are afraid to try to exterminate the very source of fear. To begin to be fearless is really to begin to be non-violent,

because a total banishment of all fear can come only by a conviction that the spirit is indestructible and no harm can come to it, whatever happens.

He would add, because violence sows the seeds of further violence, it can never really solve the problem of violence. That is why war never solves problems finally but always gives rise to new problems. It has been found that modern wars have given rise to far more intricate problems than one could imagine. It releases the baser instincts of those who are engaged in it and brutalises them. In fact, it is not 'paying' in any sense of the term. Those who win are usually in as bad a plight as those who lose. Ultimately some adjustment has to be made, some compromise arrived at which would help both. Even from the point of view of economy of forces and resources which are usually employed and indiscriminately destroyed during war on both sides, it will be found profitable to come to an understanding without war.

Moreover, the trend of evolution in human society is towards non-violence and peace. It is peace that has made civilization possible. It is peace and all that it means that has allowed humanity to reach the phenomenal number of more than two thousand millions. It is peace that makes bigger human organisations on wider

and wider bases possible. Human society has moved far far away from the rule of the jungle to the rule of law, at least within a state. There is a yearning in the human heart for more and more peace. Peace is the health of human society while war is its disease. Even those who indulge in violence or organise for it do it most apologetically, proving thereby that the basic tendency is towards peace. And if life is a force for construction, for building up, for expression through control of matter and constructive action, it must stand for peace and not for war, for non-violence and not for violence.

It was in this kind of mental and moral soil that the seed of Satyagraha was sown. The author of it was fully cognisant of the potency of the method he was initiating and had also a full vision of the mission he was charged with. In reply to a question by the Rev. Mr. Doke in 1908, Gandhiji wrote: "The struggle in the Transvaal is not without its interest for India. We are engaged in raising men who will give a good account of themselves in any part of the world. . . . Passive resistance, that is Satyagraha, is always infinitely superior to physical force. . . . It may be a slow remedy, but I regard it as an absolutely sure remedy, not only for our ills in the Transvaal, but for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India." As early as 1905-06,

he distinguished his method from what is called Passive Resistance.

He laid the greatest stress on constructive work in the form of social service—service which was selfless and service of which a particular society was in desperate need. It was through such service that he sought the integration of the individual with society. Such service naturally gave rise to and built up leadership which was indigenous but at the same time trusted and formidable. While the social workers were to be absorbed in constructive work during normal times, they were to lead the people in a peaceful campaign against any injustice, when there was any such occasion.

Peaceful methods, self-suffering, non-violence as adopted by individuals in their own lives especially in the religious field and against injustice and evil has been known to history. Lives of saints are full of such instances. Jesus Christ's own life is a singularly vivid example as to how the Prince of Peace countered the evil forces ranged against him. But Gandhiji evolved a full philosophy of non-violence and gave it a habitation and a name. From the rule of an individual's life that it was, he lifted and applied non-violence to social and collective conduct. While it had been mostly restricted to religious life in the past, he expanded its scope to political, social and economic

fields. He sought to abolish the gap and arbitrary distinction between individual ethics and group ethics or national ethics. He developed a technique which could be followed by anyone who cared to understand it. He awakened the conscience of humanity in this matter to such an extent that it is looked upon as barbarity more than ever to think in terms of violence.

Now, how far can this method contribute to the peaceful solution of world problems? A reply to this question depends upon how far this idea is sound, how far it has caught and how far it would be followed.

Satyagraha—Its Essentials

There is no doubt that Gandhiji's indomitable faith, his persistent refusal to have anything to do with violence and his insistence to use only non-violent methods under all circumstances even at the risk of repeated defeats and even death, and above all, the achievement of Indian independence by peaceful means, made the thinkers of the world sit up and see if the solution of war and peace did not lie that way.

It is obviously neither possible nor necessary to discuss the organisation of Satyagraha or to describe its technique here. For that we shall have to go to other books and to Gandhiji's own

writings. But before we deal here with the application of Satyagraha to the resolution of tensions and conflicts, intra-national and international, it is better to have a clear view of what Satyagraha consists in, who is an ideal Satyagrahi, what is the effectiveness of an individual Satyagrahi, and the conditions under which Satyagraha is applicable.

While Satyagraha in its intense form and in its more comprehensive aspect is a creed, a way of life as laid down and lived by Gandhiji himself, in its broader aspect it may be said to be a non-violent weapon for the use of individuals as well as groups and masses in fighting against all evil and injustice, social, economic and political. It is an alternative to all other kinds of weapons and remedies which involve hatred and violence to person and property. Here obviously we are concerned more with the latter than with the former aspect of Satyagraha.

Satyagraha seeks to extend to groups and communities the laws of love and self-suffering associated with domestic life and the solution of its problems. It holds that temporary aberrations of brother humans will pass away if the right attitude of love and self-suffering is adopted. To a Satyagrahi every one is a friend, a fellow-being, a brother. He tries to make his opponent feel that he is loved and respected but that he must divest himself of the evil that clings to him. By being

ready to suffer himself, he assures physical safety to his opponent and causes him to think about the wrong committed by him. His attack is on the opponent's diseased mind, and he aims at curing evil at its source.

Satyagraha looks upon the use of physical force as weakness, because it believes that the use of violence is the result of fear. It would always exhort people to be strong in spirit because that strength alone can give one the power to overwhelm the opponent by love and self-suffering. 'Resist evil with good' would be the motto of Satyagraha. Long suffering and redeeming love are alone invincible, in the eyes of Satyagraha.

Satyagraha can be used for wide and varied purposes. It can be used for resisting any injustice, large or small ; for bringing about reform in an institution or society ; for the repeal of any unjust or bad laws ; for the removal of any grievances ; for the prevention of communal riots or disturbances ; for bringing about changes in the existing system of government ; for resisting an invasion, or for replacing one government by another. Gandhiji practised non-violence with scientific precision for an unbroken period of over fifty years. He applied it to every walk of life—domestic, institutional, economic and political. He recommended that the alphabet of Ahimsa—non-violence, be learned in the domestic school,

for if one succeeds there, he is sure to succeed everywhere else.

The Satyagrahi pursues truth through love alone. He seeks the good of all through service and sacrifice. If in the course of this kind of life he is opposed, he resists unto death and is willing to die without even thinking of injuring. If death comes to the Satyagrahi through a blow from an erring brother while the former is defending truth, he considers it as a triumph—the triumph of the spirit over the body. Rather than consent to falsehood, he would lose his body and save his soul. To him the body is but an instrument for the realization of truth through love. He would not swerve, even by a hair's breadth, from the path of love or non-violence. However much he might suffer, he would not harbour even the slightest ill-will against his opponent. He would not retaliate, even if he had the power to do so. The Satyagrahi rests in the supreme faith that his suffering alone will cure the opponent of his ignorance, selfishness and cruelty.

Satyagraha is an attitude towards life, and towards every aspect of life. It is not a single act, nor a string of actions. It is an inner pose of one's being. It is an urge to live a life in consonance with the evolutionary force that goes to build life, promote it, expand it and express it in various productive and creative activities. This attitude

compels a Satyagrahi to strive for the prevalence of truth.

Satyagraha is certainly intended to replace the brutal methods of violence used in cases of conflict between men. It is based on truth, it works through non-violence, and achieves its end by converting or compelling the opponent through moral pressure. This method has a great advantage over all others. It can be used against any adversary, however strong he may be physically, and however efficient in the art of violence. The Satyagrahi may be a physical weakling and wholly innocent of the use of violence, and yet if he is fearless and has a strong will, he can cross swords with the mightiest of the earth, even single-handed. Numbers do not count. Since Satyagraha is essentially a moral weapon, it does not rely on weight of numbers.

Satyagraha bids to be the last and yet the most potent of peaceful weapons. After all other remedies, such as constitutional agitation, have been exhausted, Satyagraha steps in. It takes the place of violent direct action. It comes in where violence would have been resorted to in the ordinary course, had those in command been following the usual methods of resistance and fighting. The dissatisfaction, the tempo of righteous resentment, the degree of desperation, and the inevitability of using the last remedy are the

same in Satyagraha as in the case of violent resistance.

Where individuals resort to Satyagraha, it is essential that they should have faith in the fundamental oneness of all human life, in the basic identity of the interests of humanity as a whole, in the possibility of all people 'living and letting live' in amity and co-operation without elimination of the others, in the inherent goodness of human nature and in the possibility of its being converted through self-suffering, and finally in the truth of one's own case or claim, as the case may be. Where group or mass action is contemplated, the leaders at least must have this faith and it may be sufficient if the groups or masses concerned have faith in their leaders and have discipline enough to keep up non-violence in action. It is necessary to note here that Satyagraha is quite different from passive resistance. The word Satyagraha was deliberately substituted for passive resistance in South Africa by Gandhiji because he did not want to be misunderstood. Passive resistance, as commonly understood by us now, is a weapon of the weak, the unarmed, and the helpless. It does not eschew violence as a matter of principle but only because of lack of the means of violence or out of sheer expediency. It would use arms, if and when they are available, or when there is a reasonable chance of success. Passive

resistance may even be preparatory to, or go hand in hand with, armed resistance. The underlying object is to harass the opponent and thus force him to take the desired course of action. Love has no place in it. It cannot be used against one's nearest and dearest because it is based on hatred and distrust. There is no place for constructive activity in it. It cannot become a philosophy of life.

Now a few important qualifications and rules are necessary for a Satyagrahi. That will give an idea about the discipline which he is supposed to follow. 'Love does not burn others, it burns itself', —that is how Gandhiji would describe the way of a Satyagrahi. A Satyagrahi shall have no hatred in him and shall harbour no anger. He shall joyfully suffer unto death if needed. He shall do no intentional injury in thought, word or deed, to the opponent even under the gravest provocation. He shall never retaliate but at the same time shall never submit to wrongful orders out of fear. He shall protect the life and property of the opponent if need be and if he is in danger, even at the risk of his own life. He shall not evade arrest or imprisonment nor refuse to obey jail rules which are not repugnant to religion, conscience or self-respect. He shall not resist confiscation of property unless it be trust property in which case he shall offer non-violent resistance. He shall seek and follow truth under all circumstances and shall

be non-violent in thought, word and deed. He shall expect no help or assistance for his dependents in case of his death or his being incapacitated. He must be clean in life, be pure of heart and not addicted to drinks or any other intoxicants that cloud one's mind.

In modern organised societies and governments the effectiveness of individuals is often in doubt. But it is precisely in such societies and governments that dissenters have no other course but that of Satyagraha. The potency of Satyagraha, however, increases in the same proportion as the use of the weapon is truthful, fearless and free from any moral taint. Only when one is armed with adequate moral strength, does one become invincible, if the cause is true, and if one is willing to suffer cheerfully to the end without ill-will. Aldous Huxley in his *Ends and Means* points out that against the might and the machine of the fully equipped government in modern times, the only resistance that can be offered is by non-violent resisters who have served society and have established their leadership. So a Satyagrahi as an individual can be effective only to the extent that he has become the beloved of the people whom he has served. Since Satyagraha is something which can be used both by individuals and by groups, it need not feel disappointed about its effect. It will always have its effect, if not in

actually removing the grievance immediately, at least in rousing the conscience of the community to the grossness of the evil. At any rate, a Satyagrahi even as an individual is not as hopeless and helpless as a single soldier against a big army. He can always act and resist and can make his action effective if he is tactful and uses his resources to the best advantage.

From what I have said so far, it is clear that wherever there is evil, injustice and exploitation—social, economic or political, Satyagraha can be resorted to. It must, however, be remembered that it is the last weapon and must be used only in the last resort when all other weapons of peace have been tried and have failed. Such failures patiently endured are in fact a good preparation for the last step. Now what shape and form Satyagraha should take under certain circumstances would always depend on the emerging situation and trends. But one thing must be borne in mind that if the use of violence requires arms, preparations, money and so on, the use of non-violence or Satyagraha also presupposes preparation though of a different type. If soldiers in any army are said to be inadequately trained, if they have less than three years' training, why should we feel that Satyagrahis need no training at all? The training, however, differs fundamentally. But training is essential. The whole success or failure of a

campaign of Satyagraha will always depend upon the stuff the Satyagrahis are made of and the training they have undergone for suffering and sacrifice.

Before writing about the application of the methods of Satyagraha for the resolution of tensions in human affairs, we must understand that we are using methods similar to those of Satyagraha in the domestic field, where the interrelation of parties is based on love and affection, on the realisation of the basic unity of interests, on the recognition of the necessity for adjustment rather than elimination, on the understanding that ultimately this is the best way for mutual benefit and mutual co-operation. Gandhiji often said that Satyagraha is nothing but the extension of the principle from the domestic to the other external fields. In the place of the emotional background which may be readily available in domestic life and which may not be there in all cases outside that sphere, Gandhiji would plead with us to exercise our reason and see that this way is not only the best but by far superior to all others. It is more human, it is more in tune with the evolutionary urge in humanity, it is constructive and therefore saves much of our energy and resources, it involves the least loss to either side, it raises the moral level of both, it is based on justice rather than on force, it gives scope for psychological

changes for the better in both, and ultimately even from the point of view of sheer profit and loss account, this way is less costly or more profitable than the other. The way of violence in addition to being subhuman, leaves traces of hatred, bitterness, loss and the sense of success and defeat—all of which more or less are obstructions in the way of future adjustment and progress.

Therefore, whatever the temporary defeats or vicissitudes that this method may suffer, it is more in line with the progress of humanity. The alternative, namely the path of violence, of cold war or hot war, of solution by elimination and destruction, is definitely anti-evolutionary and that which clogs the way of the ordered advance of human civilization.

Application of Satyagraha

Now let us see what would be the circumstances under which the methods of Satyagraha may have to be applied. The two broad categories would be (a) in the case of intra-state tensions, that is, tensions within the borders of a state, and (b) in the case of interstate tensions, that is, between state and state.

Taking the first category, we find that a state is primarily a political unit which claims individuality and sovereignty as distinguished from

other states. The size, internal differences among its own people, differences of race, religion or creed, internal conflicts of economic interests, do not matter. For all practical purposes, a state tends to be a closed system, if it could be so physically and economically. But that is not a practical proposition and in the modern world which has developed a complex civilization, there has to be enough inter-dependence and there is necessity of intercourse between state and state. Here, however, we have to consider the tensions within the borders of a state. There might be, for instance, religious, racial or economic tensions—separate or joint. There might also be political parties and tension between them. But such a political tension would be but the result of the tensions mentioned above and need not be considered separately.

Satyagraha would tackle these tensions in its own way. Let us first take religious tensions. These do not arise on account of any essential differences in the teachings of different religions but on account of the mistaken ideas and prejudices of their respective followers or on account of zeal for proselytising by means which are many a time questionable. A Satyagrahi would bid good-bye to the idea of all kinds of conversion or proselytising because he believes that the core of the teaching of all religions is more or less the

same. If at all any religion wants something it can always borrow from others. All religions have done that so far. They have also changed certain of their aspects without giving up the fundamentals. Thus there is no necessity of giving up one's religion or of being converted. Therefore, it will be the endeavour of Satyagrahis to inculcate that all religions may differ from each other in certain aspects, but are neither superior nor inferior to each other and that they are good enough for those that are born in it. The next step would be to show how fundamentals in all religions are practically the same and how all religions prescribe practically the same truthful and peaceful methods for spiritual and moral advancement. No religion worth the name preaches nor is based on violence. Nor does it advocate destruction or coercion or the use of force for its propagation. A Satyagrahi would organise public opinion on these lines and would prepare people to suffer for these ideas, whatever happens. At the same time, a Satyagrahi would resist unto death any forceful conversion or coercion in the name of religion. He would organise peaceful resistance to it. The type of resistance will naturally depend upon the kind of tension that exists or the attack that is launched. Martyrdom in the cause of true religion, as a Satyagrahi interprets it, is the most glorious type of death that he can meet

with. In fact, as has already been pointed out, that is the triumph of the spirit over the body. But this martyrdom is faced in the certain belief which has been tested by past experience and history, that such martyrdom ultimately leads to the success of the cause.

Oftentimes, religious tensions are not entirely due to religious causes only. Many a time, economic and other motives also get mixed up and a Satyagrahi would naturally try to unravel the different causes in a certain situation but his method would always remain the same.

Gandhiji's attitude towards religion and religious tensions can be summed up in one word which he often used, *Sarva-Dharma-Samanwaya*, the inclusive approach or synthesis of all religions. It has been paraphrased by Shree Vinobaji, one of the most honoured of the disciples of Gandhiji, as an attitude of equality towards all religions, *Sarva-Dharmi-Samanatwa*. It is with this attitude that religious tension has to be approached and a solution found along peaceful lines. The full realisation that every religion is for the time being the best for its followers and that no religion is good enough to impose itself on another, must always be a guiding experience for a Satyagrahi. There were a number of occasions during Gandhiji's own lifetime when he had to face conflicts between Hinduism and Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism,

Islam and Sikhism, Hinduism and Christianity, between sections of Hinduism itself and so on. But he always tried to find to a successful solution along the lines described above.

Another intra-state tension which has often to be tackled is that between race and race. In fact, Satyagraha was born in the process of giving non-violent battle to the injustice heaped upon one race by another within the borders of the same state, where the superiority complex of the ruling race was backed by the state machinery and by law. Here again the root cause of the tension, the superiority and inferiority complex of the respective races has to be uprooted. Along with it, there are many a time economic factors also working, which too have to be taken into consideration. The peaceful path of self-suffering that Gandhiji adopted in South Africa is too well-known to require repetition here. But while he fought for equality of races, he gave also the highest priority to social and other reforms amongst the Indians in South Africa. We should not forget that fact because it is a part of the Satyagraha way of tackling problems and tensions.

The tension involved in the removal of untouchability in India can also be described as a racial tension, since untouchability attaches to birth and to certain castes based on birth. Gandhiji began his fight against the curse of untouch-

ability by calling it the greatest blot on Hinduism. He did not think in terms of either abandoning Hinduism or of condemning it wholesale. He wanted to reform it by removing untouchability and by doing away with the distinction of higher or lower castes. He declared that all men are equal and therefore all Hindus also. Untouchability either on account of birth or occupation was to him an anathema. He started by adopting an untouchable girl, Laxmi, as his own daughter at the beginning of his career in 1916 in India. He succeeded in 1946 in getting appointed Dr. Ambedkar, his 'untouchable' opponent, as a member of the first Indian Cabinet and as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. He ended by seeing that the Constitution of free India declared untouchability as an offence under the law in 1948. He achieved all this not only by the persistent use of peaceful means but also by keeping under control forces of violence which oftentimes seemed to dominate the field. Though caste-system has not yet been wiped out, it has certainly lost all its edge and the tension between castes that does exist is neither so great nor so deep as to cause anxiety.

The third category of intrastate tension is economic, between class and class, especially between capital and labour. As early as 1918, Gandhiji had occasion to tackle a labour problem in

Ahmedabad and he then laid down the fundamentals regarding this question. He did not believe that interests of classes were irreconcilable or beyond adjustment except by class elimination. Gandhiji did believe in an ultimate classless society but that stage is to arrive not by violence or by the process of physical coercion, but by the conversion of all into a single class, the class of workers by hand or brain or by both. A Satyagrahi holds very high the dignity of labour and believes in the dictum of Ruskin in his *Unto This Last*. Gandhiji exhorted time and again, that the capitalist or for the matter of that, everybody who possessed more than what he immediately required for maintenance, was a 'trustee' of the surplus and not its absolute owner. He must render an account as to how best he utilises the surplus for the community, to which all wealth ultimately belongs. At the same time, he tried to remove the inferiority complex of the labourer by emphasising that labour was also wealth in every sense, and that that was his 'capital' and that ultimately both the 'capitalists' together, the labourer and the employer, must own and manage the factory or industry concerned. Peaceful strike is necessary in the armoury of a Satyagrahi but it is used as the last weapon. It has to be absolutely peaceful and without ill-will, and has to be used with an eye to ultimate adjustment.

The principles that Gandhiji laid down in those early days have been the basis and the inspiration of the Mazdoor Mahajan, Ahmedabad, the biggest and most powerful textile trade union in the country. A Satyagrahi stands for a society where there is no scope for any type of exploitation and therefore he is bound to fight against all exploitation. Since he believes that co-operation between capital and labour is essential and that labour is as much capital as capital itself, he aims at organising labour along that line. He would see that labour becomes so conscious, so organised and so powerful that it can stand on an equal footing with capital, so that all future relations would be based on equality of status and power in the common work of production and distribution.

Regarding international tensions and tackling the same by methods similar to those of Satyagraha, frankly we have not many illustrations to point out. Between one nation and another as also between one state and another, there are likely to exist a number of different types of tension. There might be political tensions, economic tensions, and tension on account of fear-complex on one side and aggressiveness on the other. There might similarly be tension between groups of states also, or between one 'bloc' and another. Referring to political tension, that which is most familiar, is that between nations where one

dominates the other. Today there are numerous such in existence.

One most important tension of this type that was successfully solved in recent days by peaceful means was that between India and England. As early as 1908, Gandhiji visualised the use of Satyagraha for freeing India. He said that it might be a slow remedy but he regarded it as an absolutely sure remedy 'for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India'. He was quite conscious of the importance of this method when in 1931 he pointed out in his broadcast to America, that the reason why the attention of the world was drawn to the struggle in India was because of the means adopted which were not bloodshed or violence or diplomacy, but pure and simple truth and non-violence.

The long history of the struggle for independence that was launched in 1921 under the leadership of Gandhiji is a living illustration of the peaceful methods used continuously for twenty-five years. Never for once did the Congress countenance violence or communalism during those years. There were six campaigns during that period when active non-violent resistance of various types was given. Ultimately the struggle ended in the most peaceful transfer of power, from an empire which was in existence for more than

150 years, and with the least amount of friction on either side. Some bitterness which did exist, completely vanished on the transfer of power. The last three years of Indo-British relationship have proved that no trace of the former tension has remained now.

It must be remembered that an armless and helpless nation full of diversities in religion, language, caste and community, customs and manners, was pitted against a determined and experienced empire which has been the biggest and the mightiest in the history of humanity. And yet, thanks to the peaceful methods adopted under the guidance of Gandhiji, the sequel was the freedom of 400 million human beings from bondage that had lasted more than a century—and that with the least amount of sacrifice in men and money.

It is really necessary for many more nations in a similar plight to study the methods used in India and see if tensions due to political domination cannot be eased by the use of Satyagraha or its variant.

I have dealt in brief with the way Satyagraha would try to resolve intra-state and interstate tensions. I have indicated the ideology as well as the equipment of a fighter who has pledged himself to peaceful means. But that is neither the only nor the final aim of a Satyagrahi. He visualises the

establishment of world peace. In fact, that is his mission. The resolution of various tensions through non-violence are but means to an end. To the extent that he would succeed in his various ventures, he would be better armed for the greater struggle and his success in those matters would have in the meantime demonstrated to the world the potency of his method. All these would be steps in the right direction and towards world peace.

A Satyagrahi fixes the establishment of perfect peace and non-violence in the world as the ultimate aim because he believes that real evolution and progress of the individual as well as of society can take place only in an atmosphere of peace and security. Whatever the crude methods of arriving at results might have been in the past, he thinks that when we have reached a certain stage in human evolution we ought to adopt peaceful methods. When we have become conscious of the wasteful ways of violence and destruction and when we have understood the harm that is done to the human mind by an atmosphere of fear and distrust, our heart cannot consent to continue the cruel traditions of barbarism nor can our intellect connive at them any longer. The very urge of evolution that brought humanity to this stage seems to dictate that in future, more rational methods should be used to remove causes of

conflict among men. The alternative way is full of disaster and is clearly one that takes us back to atavism.

Discipline of Satyagraha

Now let us consider the intellectual and moral discipline that may be required of individuals as well as of society in order that real progress may be made in the direction of world peace. Long before the intellect sees things and consents with conviction to courses of action, it is the heart that has to be ready to act. In fact, if the heart is not ready and willing, mere intellectual conviction is often not enough to deliver the goods. Therefore, as in all other great matters, faith counts far more than anything else in this field. An emotional revulsion for the methods of violence, that is, a pronounced tendency towards non-violence, must be the first thing with which a start has to be made. This can come only by faith. It can also come by observation and study of the evolution of human society, no doubt. But that kind of intellectual conviction is not enough to suppress the emotional urges of selfishness and to lead men from ways of war to ways of peace. It is necessary for Satyagrahis, at any rate for those who want to lead, to understand the whole problem in its entirety and be equipped with faith in the ultimate success of truth and non-violence, in the efficacy of

suffering and sacrifice, in the potency of service of the people and in the certainty of ultimate good being reached only through this means. If this basic working faith in peaceful methods is there in the hearts of those who lead, it spreads to others all around and it is easy to adopt peaceful methods for the purpose in hand.

Those of us who believe in the present-day methods of violence and are too weak to resist the temptation of using them, do expect a great amount of physical, mental and moral discipline in the army, the navy, the airforce, in the constabulary and so on. We believe that all this is necessary to maintain peace and to wage war, if necessary. When that is so, to think in terms of maintaining peace in society and of using only peaceful methods for maintaining it without as much of intellectual and moral discipline, if not more, in the members of a 'peace army' is something preposterous. Therefore, while there may be far less of mechanical and lifeless discipline in a 'peace army' there has to be far more of understanding and moral firmness in it. Extreme regard for truth, fairness, justice and gentleness, full control of the inclination to violence and to retaliation, buoyant optimism, readiness to suffer and sacrifice, full sense of the dignity of labour and the willingness to serve and be busy with constructive activity, are some of the essentials of discipline required.

There might not be anything dramatic about such a discipline. There might not be any fanfare about the Satyagrahis, but if they are genuine and are able to win the confidence of the society or nation in which they work, they are sure to be factors towards making the world safe for peace.

Now whence is such intellectual and moral discipline to come from? Gandhiji, at the very start of his public career, thought it his first duty to prepare a batch of people steeped in the ideology of Satyagraha. That he did through his Ashram. It may be necessary to start schools and centres of work like the Ashrams if a sufficient number of people are to be recruited for the army of peace. Idolisation and glorification of violence in any shape or form cannot be a part of such discipline or training. On the other hand, the principles of Satyagraha will have to be inculcated. A peaceful human society co-operatively busy in constructive work will have to be the ideal and not the present-day society which emphasises the use of force and has a militarist slant. The integration of the individual with society will have to be complete through peaceful but productive activity which is carried on in the spirit of service. But if anybody is under the delusion that 'peace-lovingness' is itself a virtue in a Satyagrahi, it is a mistake. Because, a Satyagrahi is anything but a lover of peace

for its own sake. He stands for truth, justice, non-exploitation, equality. Anything that may come in the way of the establishment of all these, he is pledged to fight—but always fight with weapons of love and peace and self-suffering. He is a warrior without the thirst for others' blood ; he is willing to die without even the desire to hate or kill. It is such individuals and such groups that are calculated to fight the battle for peace by peaceful and truthful methods. That is Satyagraha—the pathway to peace.

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